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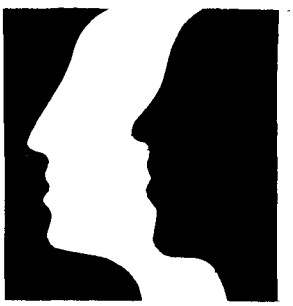
commonweal

REPARATIONS FOR BLACKS?

Mark Green



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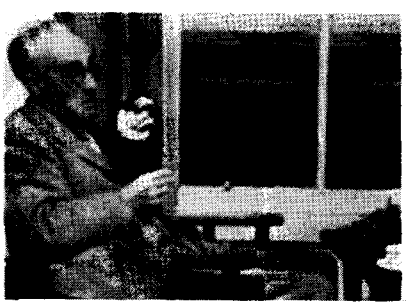
THE ANTI-MORALITY MISSILE

James Megivern

THE SAINT
FROM THE AUTOBIOGRAPHY OF FRANK O'CONNOR



BRITAIN'S LABOR PAINS • *ROY MOORE* • GAS OVER BERKELEY • *CHARLES HORMAN* • NOVAK'S NEW MYSTICISM • *STEVE MAX*

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NEWS & VIEWS

The Kraus Case

Arthur J. Kraus, the premature anti-Fascist whom City College of New York fired from its faculty 36 years ago, had his day before the media May 26, at a Kraus case exposition in Freedom House.

It was almost a complete bust. Advocates talked too long; there was too much argumentation from inference, too much sloganism, too much emotionalism, too much of the irrevelant.

But Dr. Kraus, as ever his own best defender, rescued his day.

It is impossible not to be touched by anyone who has devoted a lifetime to his vindication. Such is Kraus. Kraus is going on 73. He's terribly near-sighted, but he's as sharp as a marksman; he's on welfare, but he's rich in the righteousness of his cause. He made believers out of the guys from CBS, the AP and the *Times*, all of whom under similar circumstances would likely have resigned themselves years ago to the fate of the shat-upon.

The "mistake" in Professor Kraus' life was in organizing a student demonstration and then undertaking a hunger strike to protest the rise of totalitarianism in Europe and the slumbersome isolationism of the U.S. The public gave a damn about neither issue in 1933, and Kraus, like so many lonely non-conformists, became the victim of his own foresight. It's an old story. He was put down as a nut and that judgment has dogged his days.

The Kraus case has long since ceased to be a legal one; statute of limitations. For that matter, it's hardly much of an academic freedom or civil rights case any more; the issues have fled and most of the principals are dead. But it is still a humanitarian case, and not to be minimized on that account.

Lord Chorley, a member of Britain's House of Lords and a long-time Kraus partisan, explained perfectly in his Freedom House review of the facts of the Kraus story.

"When an injustice is done," Chorley said, "the whole world is wronged, and to overlook that injustice is a wrong to the community in which we live. The community of scholars, the community of humane men and women, have been wronged by the injustice meted out to Professor Kraus."

It's too late for that injustice to be remedied, but

Arthur J. Kraus

as Chorley stressed, amends must still be made. He urged a "formal reinstatement" of Kraus by the New York Board of Higher Education. The reinstatement need only be "formal," he remarked, as Kraus is now beyond teaching age.

Kraus is not so sure he wants to settle for that. He seeks reparation for the "destruction" of his life, and an annuity to cover the closing years of his life—that he might live them in dignity and productivity.

It's not too much to ask, but more than he may get.

Same Old Spain

The state of exception has been lifted in Franco Spain, but that does not mean a green light for free speech. Recently, the Madrid government closed four publishing houses, ostensibly for technical reasons, but in fact for political ones.

Equipo Editorial, S.A., for example, which published an edition of Marx's *Kapital* as well as the *Journal* of Che Guevara, was reputed to have ties with the Basque Liberation Front.

Ciencia Nueva, another of the closed publishers, had a very distinguished list of authors, including Jean Piaget, Louis Althusser, Paul Sweezy and Ernst Bloch among contemporaries, and Voltaire, Marti, Marx, Herzen, Rimbaud, Gorki, Diderot and Stendhal among classicists.

Commonweal has reprinted cartoons by the Spanish cartoonist Chumy Chumez, which were published by Ciencia Nueva.

The third of the closed publishers, Ricardo Aguilera, had grown fat by publishing nothing but books about chess between 1944 and 1968. Then it began to put out a collection of Marxist titles. Checkmate in one move.

Ediciones Halcon had an interesting experience in asking permission to publish various books. Approval was refused for works by Friedrich Engels, Bakunin and the Trotsky scholar Isaac Deutscher. Stokely Carmichael on Black Power was okay, however. Ediciones Halcon published an abridged edition of *Kapital* for 50 cents; it was immediately confiscated, although the government had no objections to a $15 edition already available. You don't have to be a Marxist to understand that ploy. Now Ediciones Halcon is closed altogether.

Some Spaniards feel that the forced closings are a first step toward a general crackdown on publishers. Whether they are or are not, these Spanish publishers could use expressions of support and solidarity, both from individuals abroad and from foreign publishers and publishers' associations.

Will those who—quite rightly—protested censorship and persecution of writers in the Soviet Union raise their voices now? If so, messages should be sent to: Editorial Ciencia Nueva, s.1, Cruz Verde 22, Madrid 13, Spain.

Bang; Two Points

It's no put-on; the Army has indeed devised a points-game to goose the competitive instincts of GIs in Vietnam.

Under the rules of the game, a platoon gets points for enemy killed, weapons seized, food caches discovered, etc. It loses points when the platoon suffers battle casualties. For the winners, duty-free days at a rest center.

The idea, according to Lt. Col. James T. Bradley, originator of the game, is to cut down needless casualties among men who "just [aren't] being alert."

But not everyone's buying the game. One soldier complained in a letter home quoted by the AP: "This contest has shown us what pawns we are. I wouldn't like to think that because one of my buddies gets killed, it only means we lose points."

Showing a sensitivity unusual for it, the Army has dropped the rule deducting points for GIs killed. The game, however, goes on.

He'll Learn 'Em

Hopping mad over campus disturbances, Congressman William J. Scherle (R-Ia) marched into the House with a rider that would deny certain federal funds to colleges that fail to crack down on student demonstrators. It passed easily—329 to 61.

Scherle, who is a member of the House committee on education and labor and of the special subcommittee on campus disorders, was gratified. But there was no resting on laurels.

Reaching into his bag of mixed metaphors, he exclaimed: "Perhaps this will put a little starch in the backbone of weak-kneed administrators." JOHN DEEDY

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CORRESPONDENCE

Aid and Peace

Washington, D. C.

To the Editors: Professor James H. Weaver questioned both the motives and the efficacy of the U.S. Foreign Aid Program in "How to Stay the Richest Country in the World" [April 4]. I would like to take issue with him.

In the words of President Kennedy, the United States provides foreign assistance to developing countries "not because the Communists may be doing it, not because we seek their votes, but because it is right." But foreign aid must compete with foreign and domestic programs for tax dollars, and political realities demand that the program also benefit those who pay the taxes. Fortunately, economic development is in the interests of *both* the U.S. and the less developed countries.

Perhaps the most pressing need of both the developed and the developing countries is peace. The chances for peace are enhanced as all countries develop a stake in the world order—when they are able to make measurable progress in providing an acceptable standard of living for their people. Most developing countries are committed to develop that stake. This process involves fundamental changes in economic, social, and political structure, and may be associated with violent upheaval and even aggression, as Mr. Weaver notes. But the upheaval will not stop if the development process stagnates—it will become more severe. The world's best chance of moderating violence is offered when the developing countries are able to move ahead successfully toward their development goals.

But can foreign aid programs help them get there? The evidence is that the U.S. aid program, though a marginal supplement to developing countries' resources, has indeed promoted development. The major recipients of A.I.D's

(Continued on page 375)

NEWS & VIEWS: 354 **CORRESPONDENCE: 355**
EDITORIALS: 355
THE ANTI-MORALITY MISSILE: *James Megivern* **357**
REPARATIONS FOR BLACKS?: *Mark Green* **359**
A CHOICE FOR SOCIALISM: *Roy Moore* **363**
THE SAINT: *Frank O'Connor* **364**
VERSE: *James Sullivan* **362**
THE SCREEN: *Philip T. Hartung* **368**
BOOKS: **369**

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FIRST STEPS

The United States should take the lead in reducing the fighting in Vietnam and bring home 50,000 soldiers at once. So said W. Averell Harriman recently, breaking what was an almost total silence since returning from his post as chief U.S. negotiator in Paris. And if the Nixon administration takes this step, said Mr. Harriman, he is confident that the enemy will follow our example. But "to be realistic, we cannot expect the Vietcong to stop their attacks as long as we are exerting maximum pressure on them."

"I am convinced," Mr. Harriman told the N.Y. *Times,* "that there will be no progress in the political field until there is a reduction of violence." As he sees it there would be a special bonus in our withdrawing 50,000 troops immediately: the move "would be a signal to Saigon that they've got to get together politically. It would be a sign to Hanoi the President means what he says about seeking peace."

The fact is that it is not easy to know just what the Nixon position on Vietnam is. To most people, his recently televised address to the nation on Vietnam was largely warmed-over Johnson talk. Yet careful students of Nixoniana insisted that what was not included in the speech was more important than what was, and that Hanoi knew this quite well, even if the rest of us did not. In particular, it was argued that the Nixon speech signalled a switch to favoring a coalition government in the South—which would be a radical change in American policy. Thus a couple of days after the talk, Senators Frank Church and Albert Gore, both sharp critics of the war, retracted their criticism of the Nixon speech and hailed it as a breakthrough in U.S. thinking. Let us hope they are right and that Hanoi has more luck than the rest of us in deciphering Mr. Nixon's meaning.

At the same time, it seems to us beyond question that Mr. Harriman's suggestions should be followed, and quickly. The policy the United States has been following in Vietnam is ambiguous in the extreme. The U.S. stopped bombing the North but used the opportunity to sharply escalate our bombing in the South. We talk peace in Paris, but carry out aggressive search-and-destroy missions that send our casualties soaring as well as those of the enemy. Nor is it accurate to say that we are only responding to enemy

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pressure, as some administration spokesmen have done in response to Senator Edward Kennedy's criticisms. As Mr. Harriman pointed out, the North Vietnamese followed our bombing halt in the North by removing 90 percent of their troops from the two northern provinces of South Vietnam. But did the United States then welcome the resultant reduction of combat? On the contrary, General Abrams took advantage of the situation to shift United States troops from that area to the region immediately northwest of Saigon in order to "thus increase our offensive actions there," in Mr. Harriman's words.

This kind of thing is just not good enough, and it is not in keeping with Mr. Nixon's commitment to a speedy end to the war. We must reassert civilian control of the military; we must reduce the intensity of combat in Vietnam; we must bring home a sizable number of troops. On the political front we must acknowledge that the Thieu regime would not last two weeks without our active support; we must not permit President Thieu to continue to exercise a virtual veto over United States decisions; we must insist with that regime on an end to political repression, on freedom for the press and the release of all political prisoners; we must make it plain that we will not impose but will welcome a new and broadly-based coalition regime.

Most of all, the United States must face the fact that it has never yet been really willing to face: a compromise settlement is absolutely the most we can hope for in Vietnam, and this must be sought in dead earnestness even though it necessarily means settling for less than we might like. These are the facts about Vietnam that Mr. Nixon has to accept, we are convinced, or he will soon forfeit the confidence of a large part of the nation, just as Mr. Johnson did. Time is running out, and not just for Mr. Nixon.

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THE SECOND FRONT

PACIFYING CALIFORNIA

In the past, California has often been the weapons proving-ground for the forces of law and order. That was the case last week, when the National Guard and sheriff's deputies tried out a bit of their technology against students, faculty and other residents of the city of Berkeley.

Their "search and destroy" operation against the People's Park and Sproul Hall Plaza was at the same time so ugly and, to me, so unexpected that for the first few days I could feel only a stunned outrage.

However, both the tactics of the police and the politics of the demonstrators contained significant new elements, and it seems likely we have not seen the last of them.

First, the police tactics. Regardless of politics, they were monstrous.

1) *The use of shotguns for "crowd control."* Last week was the first time shotguns were used to control crowds. Over 70 people were shot. James Rector—a carpenter from San Jose—died.

Sheriff's deputies claimed they were using birdshot. The doctors who treated the wounded said some of the wounds could only have been caused by buckshot. Buckshot is far more dangerous—but the sheriff's evasion blurs the point that they should have been using neither. Remember Birmingham and Selma? Everybody got angry with the South. But at none of those demonstrations were there mass shootings. At Berkeley, last week there were.

2) *The punitive use of CS gas.* On May 21, a National Guard helicopter sprayed powder over the men and women who had gathered in Sproul Hall Plaza to protest the killing of James Rector.

The incident was more complex than it first appeared. The gas was not the CN which is generally used against demonstrators, but CS. CS, or o-chlorobenzalmalononitrile, is the army's most powerful tear gas. "The physiological effects," says Army Training Manual 3-215, "include extreme burning of the eyes, accompanied by copious flow of tears, coughing, difficulty in breathing and chest tightness, involuntary closing of the eyes, stinging sensation on moist skin, running nose and dizziness or swimming of the head. Heavy concentrations will cause nausea and vomiting in addition to the above effects."

Generally, tear gas is used to break up knots of people or keep crowds moving—the process known as "crowd control." In Sproul Hall Plaza, however, CS was used, not to move à crowd, but to punish it. The *New York Post* reported that exits from the plaza were blocked by gasmasked troops of the California Guard. Thus, demonstrators—and students on their way to class—could not disperse when the CS powder was dropped on them. They were trapped. The gas was used, not to control the demonstrators, but to hurt them because of what they were doing.

Some will say that this use of gas is not unusual. In Chicago, for example, policemen held down demonstrators and sprayed them in the eyes with chemical mace. Individual policemen, enraged at the "lawlessness" of the crowds, acted out of excessive zeal. Those

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excesses may or may not have represented a decision by their superiors.

At Berkeley, this was not the case. It was not some feverish little buck private who deployed troops around the Plaza, then sent for a helicopter to gas the people trapped there. One or more people at a rather high level made a decision to make the demonstrators hurt.

The deployment of helicopters and troops, the use of guns, the harsher gas seemed, in their gratuitous use of force, the dress rehearsal for even larger acts of domestic counterinsurgency. But the demonstration seemed a rehearsal also. It, too, had new, and significant elements.

For several weeks, students and hippies had been transforming a vacant lot, owned by the university, into a park. The park idea became quite popular. Merchants and faculty members donated $700 for turf. They rented a bulldozer to level the ground. Striped swings were brought in for the children. The lot was dubbed "the People's Park."

On May 12, Chancellor Roger Heyns announced that, to affirm the university's ownership, a steel fence would be erected around the lot to keep off trespassers. At dawn, on May 15, the fence was built with hundreds of policemen on hand to defend it. A demonstration was held at the Sather Gate; and, at the end of the rally, demonstrators—students, faculty, street people—moved down Telegraph Avenue to take over the park. That was when the shooting started.

Many incidents over the past year have foreshadowed the incident at Berkeley. Vietnam demonstrations often focussed on the big corporations. At Chicago and San Francisco State, crowds chanted that "the streets belonged to the people." On May 15, at Berkeley, an oddly mixed crowd of people moved to take a lot away from the University of California.

That's what made the demonstration different. It was against private property. No civil rights, one-man-one-vote, the war in Vietnam—but the use of a private plot of land.

Legally, of course, the university was right. It owned the property. Its name was on the deed. The people's only claim to the park was that they were using it well. The university had to choose—property versus flesh. They chose wrong. Seventy people were shot and one man killed to keep them from picnicking on university land.

CHARLES HORMAN

(Charles Horman, a free-lance writer and film-maker, has written on politics, business and television for a variety of newspapers.)

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"PACEM IN TERRIS" vs. SAFEGUARD

THE ANTI-MORALITY MISSILE

Churchmen have often been criticized for failing to speak out when great moral issues were at stake. Whether we think of Hiroshima and Nagasaki, Dresden and Hamburg, or Auschwitz and Dachau, silence on the part of religious leaders in the face of such atrocities has been recognized as dereliction of duty. Paradoxically, however, because speaking out on public issues means influencing the political order, there will always be just as much criticism over the fulfillment of this duty as over its disavowal. Hence arises the curious situation where many Catholics apparently would prefer the whole area of Catholic social teaching to be quietly left aside and keep the Church "out of politics". The fact remains, however, that because the Gospel is public, proclaimed to men whose lives are public, concerned to form a community that is public, with an agenda of service to public needs, it involves laboring for the achievement of social ideals inherent in any Christian understanding of the meaning of life. Unlike some previous eras, our age is characterized by an awareness on the part of many Church leaders of this social responsibility. One of the most striking instances of such concern is found in Pope John's *Pacem in Terris*. This profound and all-purpose encyclical has many applications. At present it is especially relevant to the ABM debate. For if the teachings contained in paragraphs 109 to 117 are taken seriously, deployment of the Safeguard system at this moment must be branded immoral.

Let us back up for a moment to set the scene for Pope John. The world situation had entered an absolutely new and unique phase with nuclear arms. The development of the deterrence theory had pushed its way to center stage in world politics and quickly led to the incredible situation where the major powers had stockpiled staggering amounts of nuclear explosives poised for immediate delivery against one another in overkill quantities. A worldview based on mistrust, hatred, and paranoid fear had somehow been allowed to prevail to the point of total absurdity. And as the planet went insane with its "deadly logic," debasing human intelligence and squandering the goods of God's earth by employing both in ever more sophisticated means of mass slaughter, where were the followers of Christ? Was there no one to rise up and shout that this worldview was heresy, a total distortion of the kingdom? For not only was such Christian witness largely absent, but Christians in droves were giving full support to one of the parties operating on this heretical dogma. By designating the other faction as

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"atheistic," one could easily fall back on the old Crusade-tradition and eliminate such groups of men from any further consideration of membership in the human race. The Christian Gospel was thereby put in brackets as no longer applicable.

Pope John, however, found this bracketing unjustifiable, and accepted his responsibility to call back a wayward world from the blind alley it had entered. He recognized that if the Church had nothing to say about the immorality of the nuclear arms race, it might just as well renounce all moral concern. It should not take great moral sensitivity to suppose this whole enterprise of manufacturing massive means of mutual obliteration is a blasphemy against God's creation. The intention of ever unleashing such misery, chaos, and slaughter upon the human race could not possibly be reconciled with the remotest ounce of sanity, not to mention Christianity. It was obviously impossible for anyone to embrace the Christian faith and at the same time accept, let alone endorse, the policy adopted by the major nations of the world.

In light of this patent incongruity between acquiescence in the arms race and any responsible view of life and its purposes, Pope John laid down a first principle: "Justice, right reason, and humanity urgently demand that the arms race should *cease*". There are no equivocations; without appeal to the Christian Gospel, everything just, reasonable, and human bellows forth to the world powers—STOP! But here is the rub. The constant temptation, endlessly appealed to by militarists on both sides, is to panic and shout "We're falling behind!" and thereby think that one is excused from obeying this imperative. It is precisely here that the core issue lies in evaluating the morality of the ABM. As the U.S. Bishops state in their November 1968 Pastoral, "the latest act in the continuing nuclear arms race is no doubt the U.S. decision to build a 'thin' ABM system to defend against possible nuclear attack by another world power." This action cannot be viewed in isolation; it is the latest step in the wild spiral. Viewed thus, the general principle applies: there are no grounds whatsoever on which to justify the ABM or any other act of major escalation of the arms race without preliminary efforts of an extraordinary kind to enter into diplomatic negotiations to reverse the irrational trend.

This principle has always been a familiar part of the traditional just-war theory. There can never be justification for so serious an action without clear evidence that it is an absolute last resort, engaged in only when all other alternatives have been sincerely explored and exhausted. This point must be emphasized; unwarranted escalation is not a neutral action. If the arms race is wrong, then every intentional step of escalation is likewise wrong. The fatal fallacy involved in the thinking of many who see nothing wrong in the ABM is that it is simply "more of the same." Just as we have been deploying gigantic ICBMs for years now, what could possibly be wrong with adding a defensive system to counter incoming missiles? Besides presuming that all our earlier steps in the arms race were moral, this argument refuses to recognize the peculiar circumstances of the present moment. On the one hand, we have a new President, a new administration, a new détente, a new situation in which the obvious course recommended by sanity is an attempt to break out of the vise of our past paranoid policy. As Pope John observed: "There is no hope of putting an end to the building up of armaments, unless . . . the fundamental principle on which our present peace depends [fear] is replaced by another [trust]." On the other hand, it is also clear that we are on the threshold of a technological breakthrough in this missile business. The introduction of MIRV will make all previous talk of arms control obsolete. With multiple independently-targeted warheads of undetectable numbers, it is questionable whether there can be any further talk of meaningful defense. It is bewildering how any reasonable person, not to mention one who accepts the Christian imperative of being a peace-maker, could possibly advocate any other step than a courageous initiative on our part to break this mad spiral and enter into serious discussions to find a way of reversing our direction. In the recent campaign there was much talk of "new leadership", but this is precisely what has not been forthcoming. The refusal to budge from discredited theories of deterrence and push toward a sane nuclear policy can only be lamented as irresponsibility.

I am not saying that a Catholic cannot be in favor of the ABM. What I am saying is that anyone who is in favor of it has a serious responsibility to explain to his Catholic colleagues how this is not tantamount to rejecting the position of Pope John in *Pacem in Terris*, of Vatican II in *Gaudium et Spes* 81, of the U.S. Catholic Bishops in their November 1968 Pastoral. Or, if he admits that it is such a rejection, what are his grounds for dissent from the above position. Those who disagreed with *Humanae Vitae* said so openly and explained why; it would advance the present understanding of Christian social doctrine if those whose position on the arms race involves dissent from *Pacem in Terris* would explain why and how with equal candor. For there is clearly a great deal of theology involved, in fact, one's whole worldview, as Vatican II explicitly affirmed: "the arms race is an utterly treacherous trap for humanity, and one which injures the poor to an intolerable degree. . . . In greater awareness of our own responsibility let us find means for resolving our disputes in a manner *more worthy of man*." If this does not apply to the ABM, it is difficult to envision it applying to anything.

JAMES MEGIVERN

(Father James Megivern is an associate professor in and Chairman of the Department of Theology at St. John's University, Jamaica, New York.)

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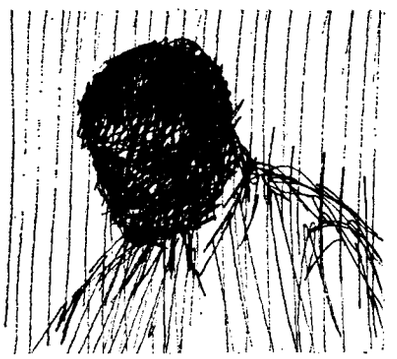
REPARATIONS FOR BLACKS?

The question of effective equality through preferential treatment

MARK GREEN



Radical movements generate their own momentum, sweeping past offerings of rhetoric and compromise. The Black Movement is no exception. As the economic gap widens between black and white in this country, the noise, riot and rebellion drown out the calls for freedom and opportunity. Herbert Gans describes this violent appropriation of rights and power as "the equality revolution." Liberty becomes an evil luxury of the white rich and equality the rallying cry of the black poor. The struggle for welfare rights and community control rather than integrated lunchcounters and suburbs chart this development.

Another example is the demand for effective equality through preferential treatment, which can be defined as the use of racial classifications to benefit an oppressed race. This principle can have various applications: President Kennedy, while deploring "reverse discrimination," tells every federal agency to place a Negro in a visible, prominent position; the Boston Housing Authority uses race as one standard in a public housing application in order to avoid a project "tipping" to one color; Governor Hughes of New Jersey increases his state's national guard five percent by accepting only black recruits; Harvard allows black students, but not white students, to run a Black Studies Program; CCNY recently debated accepting one-half of its 1970 freshman class from "poverty areas" (read Puerto Rican and Black) without regard to grades. James Forman demands reparations from the churches.

Although the principle is frequently and overtly applied, discussion of its merits is strangely muted. It is comparable to government dissemination of birth control, which is done but not debated since debate generates opposition. This point was ingenuously expressed by a shareholder in a company formed to promote interracial housing: "You can't talk about quotas. People get too excited. They're not democratic. But let's not fool ourselves. We've got to use them. We gotta." When someone does finally discuss what is obviously happening, preferential treatment becomes a red flag to both good-faith liberals who seek neutral and equal principles of law, and to bad-faith racists who now use equality, a former enemy, as a shield against further black progress.

The standard argument against such racial classifications was expressed by a *New York Times* letter writer: "If maximum ethnic quotas were an evil, can minimum quotas be any better?" Contrary to the implication, the answer is yes. Words like "quota" and "discrimination" are loaded with connotation, understandably so given our history of racial prejudice. Yet it is a verbal gimmick to elide past prejudice with preferential treatment. A subsidy is obviously dissimilar to penalty, a beneficiary different from a victim, although both fit under the "discrimination" rubric. For example, there is a moral and legal distinction whether a scholarship fund is restricted to the descendants of John Hancock (subsidy, beneficiary) or whether it is allowed for everyone *except* the descendants of John Hancock (penalty, victim).

The guiding principle of preferential treatment is still equality, but equality as a goal, not a means. It is not enough to employ "equal" standards like college board scores and civil service exams if their operational result is to exclude non-white-middle-class-value-educated blacks from the benefits distributed. As Ralph Ellison writes, "White folks seemed always to expect you to know those things which they'd done everything they could

MARK GREEN is editor-in-chief of the *Harvard Civil Rights-Civil Liberties Law Review*.

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think of to prevent you from knowing." To compensate this underclass requires additional inputs: compensatory education programs and preferential school and job acceptance. A further analogy is illustrative: if you keep a runner at the starting line while his opponents complete half the race, Charles Silberman observes in *Crisis in Black and White,* merely "freeing" him to catch up will not be enough.

The basic question remains—why is this compensation necessary? The answer, unsurprisingly, is rooted in American slavery, an institution only a few generations dead, and one which Nathan Glazer designates "the most awful the world has ever known." The examples of our racial exclusion and subjugation are legion, from individual hangings and harassment to more official forms of complicity: in our Constitution (the 3/5ths Compromise); in the *Dred Scott* case (the black was held as property); in *Plessy v. Ferguson* (separate-but-equal was constitutional); and in all Jim Crow laws. The legacy of this tradition is reflected today in some appalling statistics: 40.6 percent of non-white Americans live in poverty as opposed to only 11.9 percent of white Americans; the black unemployment rate is over 7 percent although the white rate is near 3 percent, and average black family income is only 58 percent of white family income, and falling.

It is of course true that other ethnic and religious groups have been oppressed in America, but none to the same extent as the black man. The others managed to break out from the garment districts and wharves into mainstream America; not so the inhabitants of Harlem or Watts. (As a black savant noted: "You can't get melted if you don't get into the pot.") How has the treatment of the black race been different? Must we be reminded that no other peoples were "brought" here, stolen from family, homeland and culture; that the Jew was not compelled to pick cotton for four centuries; that the Irish Catholic is not recognizable by color; that even the Puerto Rican is a relatively recent immigrant, who began American life with his family unit intact; and that no group needed a Constitutional Amendment—such an obvious example of a preferential classification that it is often overlooked—to free them from the institution of slavery?

Given the underinvestment in and brutalization of the American black, it is hypocrisy to urge, as many do, their reintegration into our society by *individual* merit. Blacks are excluded from building trades and printing unions, and comprise less than 1% of the legal and medical professions not merely because they are poor and uneducated, but also because they are black. It is color, not class, which makes it statistically likely that a black college graduate and a white eighth grade graduate will earn the same income. Since black people were excluded as a group, they must now be reintegrated as a group.

Critics who agree with the above analysis still oppose benign racial classifications for three main reasons: it emphasizes race in our race-ridden society; it could become a front for repressive rather than benevolent quotas; and it necessarily excludes some people from certain benefits because of their color—white.

First, it is probable that by emphasizing race as a remedy to racial prejudice, some whites will be reinforced in their belief that the black race is peculiar and inferior. Yet to allow fringe racists to control the remedial policy is a classic tail-wagging-dog situation. It is more likely that most Americans will understand that an affirmative and massive effort is now needed to undo our racial past. This would emphasize, not subvert, notions of equality. Stokely Carmichael in *Black Power* stresses that "while color blindness may be a sound goal ultimately, we must realize that race is an overwhelming fact of life in this historical period." By trying to turn this "overwhelming fact of life" to our advantage, ideally there will be greater instances of the two races working and living together, a situation which can have the most beneficial, educational impact of all.

Second, it should not be difficult to distinguish between racial classifications used for evil rather than good purpose. When the minority group seeks the preference or quota, and the majority (white) complies, it is unlikely to suppress that minority group. Such a standard can apply in seemingly similar situations with different results. When Montgomery County, Alabama, refuses to integrate its school system, its obvious purpose is to exclude a group that wants in, and that group naturally feels degraded and deprived. Yet when black college students *demand* separate dorms, it is equally obvious that such a housing set-up is to build up their sense of group solidarity and cultural values, goals important to the black learning process and psyche.

Third, it is true that some people will not qualify for certain benefits because they are white. Thus, the 91st white applicant to a housing project with a quota of 90 whites and 10 blacks will be denied a public housing unit (as will the 11th black applicant) and between two equally qualified college applications, one white and one black, the white person will not be admitted. The principle of preferential treatment would be more acceptable if there were no such victims. For instance, it would seem that no white person is hurt when a black displacee of an urban renewal project is given a larger relocation grant in order to compensate for the higher rents charged black people by a prejudiced, private housing market. Yet even in this example there is a "victim." Whenever tax monies are channeled to a racial group, another racial group is footing the bill. In the common denominator world of the dollar, white people are "victims." But exclusion from a housing unit because one is the 91st white applicant, or the use of tax money which does not benefit the taxpayer's race, does not victimize a white person in the sense that a black person has been victimized. There

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are none of the implications of racism: subjugation, exclusion, inferiority, and deprivation. All of these implications will be present, however, if a black displacee or applicant were denied adequate housing.

This "white victim" argument was made in a college context by Dr. Daniel P. Moynihan in the *Atlantic,* where he warned that as the black student population increases on our campuses the Jewish student population will surely decrease. His concern was eloquently answered by an editorial which appeared in *The Jewish Advocate,* a New York newspaper: "If there has been millennial pain for the black man, then historic wrongs cannot be righted without pain for us all."

The general increase in black admissions to many colleges (Ivy League and Seven Sister schools nearly doubled their number of black acceptances in the past year) is a good example of how self-serving is warning of white exclusion. These increases were the result of both racially-conscious recruiting and preferential treatment in consideration. For example, the SEEK program at CCNY accepts non-white students who would normally not qualify and then expends additional effort in special programs to help them handle the college work. At Cornell, SAT Scores, the usual "objective" admissions standard, are not given their normal weight with black applicants because of the test's built-in cultural bias and emphasis on tools which ghetto education does not provide. Other standards, more relevant to a black student's background are employed, such as extra-school and summer employment, community work, and whether the student was also the head of his family.

Is all this favoritism unfair, excluding whites since more blacks are occupying the limited number of positions available? It should be emphasized that non-objective standards have always existed at colleges (geographic quotas and special slots for alumni sons). The ultimate question is: What standards *should* be used and who *should* be accepted, not why whites are excluded, which assumes that they deserve the position in the first instance. Blacks should be, and are being admitted in greater numbers to balance schools so that they reflect the social mix of the nation, may help a race formerly excluded by race, and benefit a society which obtains more incremental utility from an additional black than white lawyer. (There are sixty black lawyers in Massachusetts, three in Mississippi. Both the Oceanhill-Brownsville School District and the Black Panther Party cannot even find a black attorney to represent their interests.)

A final, non-educational example of the preferential principle pushed to an unproductive extreme is the concept of reparations. Since the Germans paid reparations to many Jews for unjust taking of life and property, it is therefore argued that white America should do the same for black America. In a number of ways, however, this scheme of racial compensation can be distinguished from the earlier instances of preferential treatment. First, its form is that of the ultimate handout, with all the negative psychological effects such compensation implies. Admittedly this distinction is one of degree. One simply does not think of a college admission, national guard position, or black job corps with the same dole and dependence attitude of a huge money disbursement. Second, it exaggerates, again in degree, white guilt and evokes white hostility. Remedial legislation, if it has any hope of successful application, should be based on a more positive impetus than guilt, and it can never succeed if it invites backlash needlessly. Third, it is fairly obvious that such a scheme has an air of political unreality about it, both because of the overtness and expense of the classification. Yet even if it were effected, the expiated white majority would probably react with some such words: "Here is your compensation. Don't bother us anymore." The basic problem, however, would remain, which is that institutions are oppressing a race by seemingly fair standards. To avoid all these problems and to apply the limited resources available to institutional correction, any restitution should be as selective and specific as possible. For example, there should be pressure brought to increase the number of black school principals in New York City. This is a realistic goal, tied to a past and present inequity (as of 1967 there were four black principals in the whole city system; the 1969 "school decentralization bill" disallows the appointment of assistant principals other than those on the civil service list of 106 names, none of whom are non-white), and insuring a continuing equality in the future rather than a one-shot subsidy.

As argued, the moral thing to do to further the reintegration of the black race into white America is to employ racial classifications where necessary and appropriate. Yet morality, for good or ill, is not synonymous with the law. Further inquiry must determine whether such laws are constitutional.

One immediate response is that the Constitution is "colorblind," a noble metaphor when uttered in 1896 by the Senior Justice Harlan, but nevertheless still a constitutional metaphor and not a constitutional text. A more relevant response is offered by Paul Freund, professor of constitutional law at Harvard, writing in *The Negro American* on preferential standards and the equal protection clause: "If this be a sound moral judgment, it is relevant to the judgment of the law as well, for equal protection of the law is at bottom the embodiment of a moral standard."

The Fourteenth Amendment says that no state shall deny any person the equal protection of the laws. Yet, of course, the state can make valid distinctions between people and groups and then allocate resources accordingly. Thus, assistance to the blind cannot go to one who is deaf, and the G.I. Bill of Rights does not help the conscientious objector. Whether a distinction by law is valid is, in the end, a balancing of the importance of the

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goal sought and the invidiousness of the distinction drawn. Preferential treatment seeks the goal of racial equality, one which is essential to our national peace and welfare. Is the distinction, in legal parlance, "invidious"? It is well to realize that the purpose of the Fourteenth Amendment was to raise the black race up from slavery and, according to an early Supreme Court case, to avoid legislation, "implying inferiority in a civil society . . . and discrimination which are steps toward reducing them to the condition of a subject race." Preferential treatment by racial classification achieves this purpose and avoids such legislation. It clearly implies neither inferiority nor servitude for the white American, who is in power and in the majority. And although *The New York Times* periodically criticizes such classifications as "reverse racism," it should be aware of Franz Fanon's statement that: "It is the racist who creates his inferior," and not the mere fact of racial preference.

While courts are understandably reluctant to use such classifications because of past misuse, recent cases are beginning to recognize their validity. All courts which have considered the constitutionality of bussing black schoolchildren *qua* black schoolchildren in order to achieve racial balance have upheld bussing. In a case pending before the Supreme Court, the Government has taken the side of black parents and schoolchildren who are seeking to insure a 3:2 white-black teacher ratio in every Montgomery County high school as the only feasible way to integrate these schools. And the Supreme Court in the *Jones v. Mayer* decision argued that it was a "badge of slavery," within the meaning of the 13th Amendment to deny the sale of property to a black purchaser. The implications are twofold: since only black people can be afflicted with "badges of slavery" because only they suffered slavery, the ruling seems to apply only to them. And are not the denials of equal education and job attainment also "badges of slavery"?

A final pair of decisions are of special significance since they seem to chart a constitutional course which avoids both outright racial classifications and achieves racial equality. First, in the case arising out of the New York City school strike, the New York Court of Appeals held that standards other than civil service lists could be used in the appointment of demonstration-district principals, namely, "special experience with the ethnic group." Second, HEW has ruled that a Black Studies Program at Antioch College cannot accept or reject applicants solely on racial grounds but can use as a standard of admission their "relevant background." Except for the few Father Groppis and Tom Haydens left and welcomed in the ghetto, each case stands for black favoritism. Thus, compensation for past inequities is effected in the very manner the inequities were imposed, by the use of a seemingly non-color standard which operationally works to the benefit of one race.

The social engineering implicit in preferential treatment is anathema to notions of individual advancement and laissez-faire government (e.g., Nixon's "Boy from Whittier" acceptance speech and his advocacy of capitalism in the slums), yet since individual exploitation and laissez-faire acquiescence created the slum underclass, it is not surprising that more than these principles is needed as an antidote. The medicine must be strong because the disease is serious—racial warfare and the fission of America into two separate societies. This finding led the Kerner Commission to urge the "deliberate employment, training and upgrading of Negroes" as a solution. Any less of a remedy consigns yet another black generation to the deadend immobility of the ghetto—all in the name of equality. If this is equality, then we have defined away inequality.

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JAMES SULLIVAN

MATTY . . . FOR McGRAW

King Edward took in races,
The Kaiser buffed his sword,
Dan Patch went through his paces
And Henry made the Ford
Back then when Cincinnati
And Chicago lived in awe
Because a man called Matty
Was pitching for McGraw.

The greatest of the Giants,
He showed the Cubs and Reds
A brand of strength and science
That stood them on their heads.
And when the nations blundered
The world into a war,
He'd won more than three hundred
Baseball games for John McGraw.

Like Rupert Brooke and Saki,
Joyce Kilmer and the rest,
He changed his suit to khaki
And tried his level best
To fight and still be graceful.
There lay the fatal flaw.
War wasn't much like baseball,
Nor Pershing like McGraw.

The captains of Valhalla
Care nothing for romance.
He battles, not for Allah,
The Peerless Leader Chance.
He represents the natty
Against the rough and raw.
At Armageddon, Matty
Stands pitching for McGraw.

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British Labor pains

A CHOICE FOR SOCIALISM

ROY MOORE

Does a socialist government have any socialist alternatives? That is the kind of question raised once more by Britain's 1969 budget. The more cynical have long said that Harold Wilson is indeed the best Conservative Prime Minister that this country has ever had; others have noted that the only important difference between Labor and Conservative economic policies is that Labor is prepared to be tougher in making them work. The strategy which Labor has pursued is acutely disappointing to its supporters—in particular the trade unions—and its failure will mean that the party's principles have been unnecessarily betrayed. But what, in fact, are the choices?

In its simplest form the government strategy has been to make the most of any competitive advantage offered by devaluation to British producers by holding back domestic demand, thus avoiding undue inflation, limiting imports (it appears that Britain's imports rise more than proportionately with her national income), and nudging business towards producing for export rather than for domestic consumption. The objective is to bring about export-led inflation, and to turn the external trade deficit into a surplus, which will enable Britain to repay her creditors and build up her reserves.

Demand has been held back in four ways:

1) Fiscal policies have raised taxation substantially.

2) Legislation on prices and incomes has been in effect since 1966, more recently attempting to limit pay increases to 3½ percent unless justified by higher productivity.

3) Credit has been restricted by higher interest rates, tighter hire-purchase conditions and pressure on banks to limit their advances.

4) The public sector has pruned its own spending, cutting defense and welfare expenditure down to the extent that the government now has a negative borrowing requirement.

The main feature of the new budget is that it continues the strategy, albeit a little more gently. The main interest in the budget is not that it takes about £340 million more in increased taxes in a full year, but rather the ways in which the Chancellor intends to obtain this amount.

As last year, Mr. Jenkins has not increased taxes on personal incomes; moreover, he has made only limited increases in purchase tax. Increases in direct taxation would have had serious electoral, psychological and possibly disincentive effects and were therefore to be avoided; while increases in indirect taxation raise the cost of living and contribute towards inflationary pressures which offset the deflationary intention and lead back to square one.

Instead the Chancellor has looked to business, increasing the corporation tax 2½ percent to 45 percent, and increasing the selective employment tax 28 percent to 48 shillings for an adult male employee. The former can be regarded as the business community's reluctant contribution to the Exchequer from recent healthy profit increases, but the latter needs a little more explanation. The selective employment tax was the brainchild of Hungarian-born Professor Kaldor, until recently a top economic adviser to the government. It is a levy on all employees which is refunded to manufacturers but not to services, and which discriminates in favor of the poorer "Development Areas" in line with Britain's regional policy.

Thus with one measure the Chancellor has raised his revenue; moved taxation on services more into line with purchase-tax on manufacturers; avoided a direct increase in the cost of living for the immediate future; encouraged labor-intensive industry to take up unemployment in the less developed regions; and injected a further jolt towards increased efficiency—especially in labor utilization—in services, whose export contribution is less than manufacturers'.

In addition to his ingenuity in raising revenue, the Chancellor also displayed an ability to use the budget as an instrument for greater social justice. As well as announcing increases in old-age pensions to take effect later this year, he raised many tax exemption limits, at the same time closing several tax loopholes.

But perhaps the most striking feature of the budget is its anticipatory nature. Mr. Jenkins has also left himself room to intervene again at a later stage if further deflation appears warranted. With a sophisticated domestic economy and an unpredictable international monetary climate, it is suicidal for a Chancellor to pin his whole economic strategy to a single annual fiscal exercise.

Mr. Jenkins seemed well aware of this in his official

ROY MOORE *is Resident Tutor in Economics and Associated Subjects at Ruskin College, Oxford.*

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THE SAINT

FRANK O'CONNOR

I had been ill in Cork, and Russell, distrusting all Cork people, including doctors, had made me come to Dublin and get examined by his own doctor, Frank Purser, the only medical man he trusted. "He cured Stephens. Stephens was dying when Frank saw him first and now he can eat beefsteaks."

When he heard that a new appointment was becoming vacant, he went wild and besieged a couple of government departments, assuring them that I was the only possible candidate, though whether this did me good or harm I never knew. But I got the job, and when I saw the new library I was to work in I cursed. It was a miniature Georgian version of a Dublin library of 1880, which in its turn had been copied from some English library of 1840.

I had a room in Sandymount Green in a big house kept by a Donegal man and his sister who had retired to enjoy themselves in the great city. I do not think they enjoyed themselves much because all their talk was of Donegal. I was never much in love with Dublin, but I thought they were unfair to it and said so.

"Ah, but you still have your dreams, Mr. O'Donovan," said the sister, her eyes filling with tears.

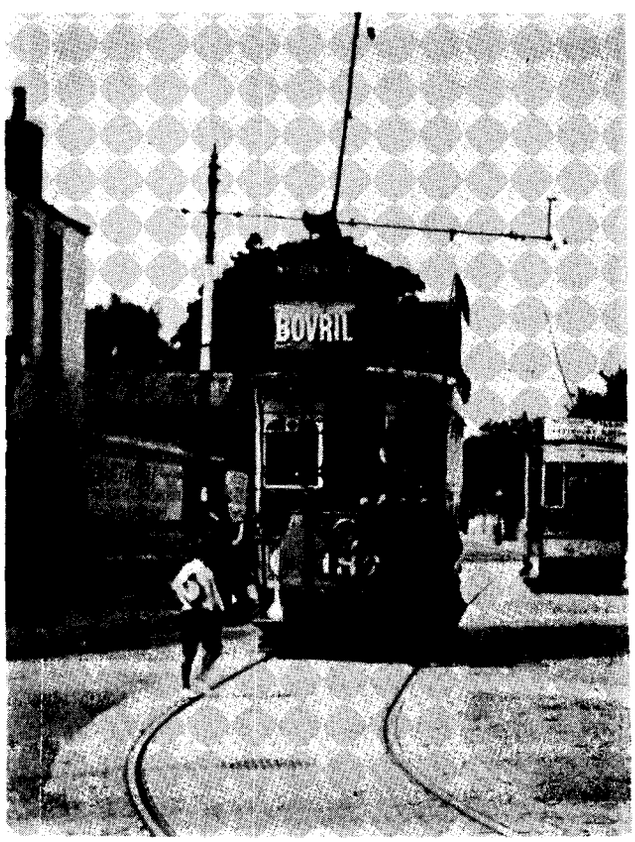
I liked them but I adored my fellow lodger. He was an engineer, tall and dark and handsome, with grave manners and an enchanting smile. He was a saint as Mother and Minnie Connolly were saints, but a masculine version of the type.

I am a heavy sleeper, and I had an arrangement with him to wake me each morning on his way to Mass, but I slept so heavily and he woke me so gently, touching me with his fingers and then smiling into my face to reassure me, as one wakes a baby, that I did exactly what a sensible baby would do and went off to sleep again.

This caused him great scruples of conscience because he had trained himself to leap out of bed at the first sound of the alarm clock by imagining that the bed was on fire. He was now training himself to wake immediately *before* the alarm clock went off which he assured me was not so difficult as it sounded; and he felt sure that by waking me in this childish manner he was sapping my will power. Everybody from Corkery on, seemed to be concerned about my will power.

He then made me prepare a card reading "Please Wake Me at 7.30" which I had to hang on the doorhandle before going to bed. He said that this made all the difference between a real act of the will and an automatic gesture, but I could not see that it improved my character in the least. All that really happened was that I usually forgot to hang it up.

Everything in the Saint's life had been reduced to schedule, even the walk from Sandymount Green to the Star of the Sea church which was so many hundred steps and took so many minutes and seconds, measured by the watch on which everything was tested—exactly the complaint that a writer of the early Middle Ages makes of the Irish monks and their arithmetical piety. When we went for walks I was a sore trial because I stopped to speak to anyone I knew, but those foolish, social conversations interrupted the flow of the Saint's thought and he walked onto the next corner. Waiting for me while I chattered worldly irrelevancies was almost as bad as listening to them because it threw out the whole mathe-



"Even the walk from Sandymount Green to the Star Sandymount Green in 190

The vignette here is an excerpt from the forthcoming autobiography of Frank O'Connor, to be published next fall by Knopf. *Copyright © 1969 by Harriet Rich O'Donovan, Executrix of the Estate of Michael O'Donovan.*

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matical quality of the walk, and after a while he explained to me that he would continue his walk at exactly the same pace—so many steps to the minute—and by quickening my own pace slightly, say by three steps to the minute—I could easily catch up on him. Running of course he neither expected or approved. Running and thinking were incompatible.

Any money left over from his rather good salary was available without interest to anyone who wanted it, and as I was short of money during the first few months of my stay in Dublin, I borrowed from him as well. But he was always getting into trouble because so few of the people who borrowed from him paid him back at the promised time, and sometimes new borrowers appealed to him when he himself was short.

No watch could control this, and once he came to me in great distress. I owed him a couple of pounds which I should pay when I got my first month's salary, and someone asked him for money in a hurry at a time when he did not have it. He came to my room blushing and asked if I could lend him a pound that evening. If I could he promised to pay it back when he got his own pay on Friday night. At first I thought he was joking and laughed, and this distressed him even more. He swore that only dire need could make him borrow from a friend like myself, and then I realized that he was really in earnest, so I only laughed louder than ever, while he went through every gambit of the confirmed panhandler; and the more he tried to persuade me that he was not the sort of person who normally did this and that he really would pay me back on Friday, the louder I laughed. Nobody else had ever made me laugh so much or with so good a conscience.

he Sea Church . . . ."
om *Dublin in Bloomtime* by Cyril Pearl (Viking)

But no more than Mother or Minnie Connolly was the Saint anyone's fool. Like them he was simply a person of spiritual genius who treated money in the proper way. He was always in trouble with his infernal Loan Office, and one day he came to me with a duplicated circular which he was proposing to send to all his ancient debtors. It ran something like this, though I suspect the original was much subtler and funnier.

Dear — , I don't know if you will remember that on . . . . . 19 . . . . . you borrowed from me the sum of . . . . . This letter is not intended as a request for payment, but it would help my bookkeeping if you would kindly reply to two questions—

(a) Do you acknowledge the debt?

and

(b) Do you propose to repay it?

It was the most effective dunning letter I had seen, and I am sure the money came pouring in, but the Saint could get his own back on me in exactly the same gentle, subtle way. He kept on trying to persuade me to come to Mass with him, and was not in the least concerned when he did not succeed. God, he explained, knew that I was a very good Catholic, even if I did not know it myself and would accept a reasonable compromise. So the Saint went to two Masses on Sunday, one for himself and one for me, and on the second occasion explained to God that he was representing me.

This was moral blackmail, but he went one better. He decided that, as one of the few really good Catholics he knew, I should contribute to the Society for the Propagation of the Faith, an object in which I had no interest whatever. We had a thundering row about this in which I accused him of every form of complacency and arrogance, but he won, as usual. He explained quietly that God, knowing me as He did, expected me to contribute to the Society for the Propagation of the Faith, so he would add my subscription to his own.

What can you do with a saint? Heine once said that the Celts were the only real believers because you could borrow money from a Celtic moneylender and arrange to pay it back in the next life. Maybe in the next life I shall pay back what I owe the Saint, including my subscription to the Society for the Propagation of the Faith—blast them!

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statements, but used this view to go out of his way in emphasizing the frustrating effects which unofficial strikes can have on the progress towards a balance of payments improvement. His purpose here was to herald legislation against unofficial stoppages, later spelt out in more detail by Mrs. Barbara Castle, Secretary of State for Employment and Productivity.

The 1969 budget mirrors accurately the mixture of competence and tenacity but narrowness and reticence in the policies and priorities of the Wilson administration. It is a budget which preserves balance of payments considerations as an absolute priority; which continues the containment of domestic demand; which finds room for limited redistribution of income to poorer members of society; but which limits short-term growth, and represents the vanguard of the statutory attack on the labor side in industrial disputes.

Principle and Practice

Is it courage or weakness that brings this Labor government so close to antagonizing the labor movement—its forebear, supporter and paymaster? The Labor Party's constitution still commits it to the social ownership of the means of production, distribution and exchange, but such basic socialist notions are rarely to be found in this government's activities. The Party's policy and manifesto commit it to the redistribution of wealth and income, but the overriding current view is that improvements in the circumstances of the worse-off must await increased economic growth; while this very growth is sacrificed on the altar of the international monetary hierarchy in return for their fragile confidence in sterling. Social justice in small doses, balance of payments permitting, has replaced social ownership; Labor will content itself with running a mixed economy much more efficiently and a little more equitably than a Conservative government. How far is the strategy without socialist alternatives, and how far could it be modified to take socialist principles more into account?

There are really only two broad alternatives to the economic policy currently pursued. The first is to demote the balance of payments as a short-term priority, and go all out for economic growth. This course of action rests on the extremely shaky assumptions that exports will materialize more effectively if there is buoyant home demand, and that the interim adverse balance will not, when measured by panicky bankers' eyes against Britain's lowly and long-term assets, lead to a flight from sterling and destructive speculation. A further necessary condition for the success of such a policy is that internal demand and cost pressures from rapid expansion will not price our products out of world markets again. This danger, plus the speculation, could well lead straight to a further devaluation.

The second alternative is to increase the economy's productive potential and efficiency to allow growth without inflation, while paying more direct attention to eliminating balance of payments constraints, to allow growth without a trade crisis and speculation. To achieve the latter, action would be required on the capital as well as the current account of the balance of payments, as well as negotiation internationally with respect to trade, debt repayment and monetary coöperation.

Objections to such policies are first that import restrictions and export incentives would disturb international trading frameworks, contravene their rules, and invite retaliation, all at the expense of world trade. The answer here is that selective, temporary measures of this nature need not necessarily involve dishonoring agreements within GATT and EFTA; and that limited contravention to achieve a solvent Britain with a healthy currency is in other countries' long term interests as well as in Britain's own.

Second, it will be argued that measures to trim government spending abroad, to limit overseas investment in the private sector, or to appropriate or transfer overseas portfolio investment into the official reserves all represent the abandonment of future sources of income in the interests of immediate balance of payments considerations. But in so far as the existing strategy puts such considerations before economic growth, the same criticism can already be leveled. The cumulative benefits of abandoned short-term growth represent substantial longer-term sacrifices in addition to the present current underactivity.

On the third count it is claimed that the world is clearly not yet ready for international monetary coöperation, especially if intended partly as a palliative for sterling's problems. But if world trade is to continue to expand, and if countries are not to be forced into internal deflation each time their external balance goes astray (one year the pound, next year the franc, what price the dollar?) then increased coöperation will have to come. It can take the form of an increase in international liquidity, or a change in the rules to make what reserves exist go further; in other words, either an international currency, powers for the IMF to create credit, increased borrowing facilities, special drawing rights, or more flexible exchange rates. The choice of reforms is wide, and it must be one of the more supreme ironies of capitalism that economic nationalism has gripped governments at a time when the multi-national corporation is moving from strength to strength.

The objections outlined are certainly powerful, but a British government with bargaining skill, statesmanship and political will could go a long way towards the achievement of this alternative strategy. The costs of the existing limited-growth strategy are immense when measured in terms of postponement of expansion, unemployment of resources and loss of confidence. The benefits to be derived from the alternative strategy within the addi-

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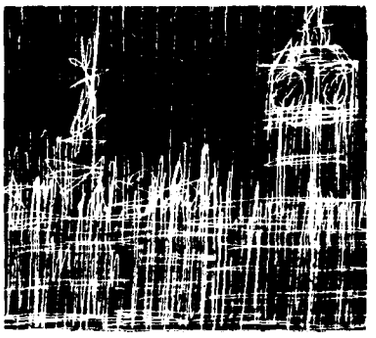
tional elbow-room it creates for more rapid economic growth are equally substantial, especially for a socialist government. Reduced unemployment, a tilting of the balance in favor of public as opposed to private spending, increased welfare provision, moves to redistribute wealth and an increase in aid to overseas development are all currently limited by balance of payments and demand management considerations.

But assuming that the balance of payments can be put into perspective and its stultifying constraint on economic growth is slackened, does Britain have the productive potential in her industrial base to take advantage of this? At a meeting of the Parliamentary Labor Party last year Mr. Jenkins refused to consider reflating the economy because of "what happened last time this was done." He was referring to the massive £800 million payments deficit engendered by the growth policies of the last Conservative Chancellor, Mr. Reginald Maudling; but he was also as good as admitting that the Labor government had achieved nothing by way of improving the efficiency of British industry in the interim four years.

It seems that for several reasons the government's modesty is undue, and its pessimism unfounded. The explanation for both is doubtless the desire to keep the economy within the limits approved by the Treasury and the Bank of England on behalf of their foreign counterparts who largely comprise our creditors. If this is a correct explanation then the remedy is for greater pressure to be exerted from the left of the Labor government to



counterbalance the strength of this domestic and international conservatism and orthodoxy, for there are several reasons for believing that British industry is considerably healthier after four years of the Labor government it despises.

1) The fundamental question of regional imbalance has been firmly grasped in order that industrial location and development should not be based solely on narrow financial profitability criteria, but on the wider concepts of social costs and benefits. In order that unemployment and activity rates should not be out of line with the national average in one area while excess demand for labor creates inflationary pressures in another, the government has subsidized both capital and labor in scheduled "Development Areas," whilst other measures have enhanced considerably the mobility and retraining of labor.

2) The promotion, with government funds, and the encouragement of industrial mergers and rationalization should have improved the allocation of resources, reduced unit costs through economies of scale, and sharpened the international competitiveness of the companies concerned. If this policy, which represents the corrosion of Labor's traditional hostility to private monopoly power—the more so in the absence of any follow-up safeguards to protect the interests of employees involved—is not bringing corresponding economic benefits, then something is seriously amiss.

3) The increased productivity in British industry—promoted in no small part by the principles of prices and incomes legislation, though rather less by its practice—increases efficiency and keeps down costs to avoid inflation and over-pricing of exports. Last year's increase in manufacturing industry productivity was 7 percent.

4) Public sector activities are being obliged to operate more closely according to commercial principles, and the nationalized industries' borrowing showed a substantial fall last year. This provides a further boost in terms of production potential by increased efficiency and the release of resources for utilization in other sectors.

5) Finally the increased market opportunities opened up by devaluation itself offer the soundest prospect of all for an export-led expansionary phase. Those companies already versed in exporting can enhance their export earnings, while other firms previously conditioned into regarding exporting as an unprofitable activity can now take advantage of a new competitive edge in world markets.

There thus appears to be good reason to believe that Britain has the potential to expand without the same degree of danger as, say, five years ago. Taking this together with the balance of payments policies advocated above, there are then no grounds for the indefinite postponement of the more desirable aspects of Labor's socialist tradition and radical election platform, which the current strategy necessitates.

Income redistribution is long overdue, especially with current trends in the other direction. More government intervention in industry is needed to ensure that social costs and benefits and social accountability are given proper attention. A policy on a positive long-term basis for the planned growth of incomes will work in favor of redistribution and against inflation more effectively if allied to a policy of economic growth. Worker participation and industrial democracy will offer a more secure basis for smooth industrial relations than will this government's flirtation with statutory powers. Redistribution of income and the socialization of industry can be achieved. Or, on the other hand, Labor's proud heritage can be offered up to satiate foreign creditors. There is a choice; and there need be no betrayals.

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Paths to Renewal, IV

There are many obvious flaws in the new liturgy. But, to state the obvious, the answer to bad change is good change—not no change at all. Worship is a key part in the life of the Church—not the only part or the first one, certainly, but an important one. It can play a crucial role in vivifying and transmitting the Christian message, if it is made relevant to contemporary culture and current needs. Yet the liturgy has stood in need of a thorough-going reform since Martin Luther's time and even earlier. . . .

The liturgy should be the ordinary means by which the Church sanctifies the faithful, yet over the years the laity had become primarily onlookers rather than participants. Worship had become a highly clericalized function, composed of rites largely meaningless to the people. . . .

To the question, whether it is time to call a halt on efforts to achieve new liturgical reforms, for us there can really be only one answer. The necessary task has hardly been begun, as can be observed in almost any parish in the country, and a good lesson on the urgency of liturgical progress can be learned from the Council of Trent: that body accomplished many good things, but thanks to the anti-vernacular bloc of Italy and Spain, it failed to approve vernacular editions of the scriptures for popular use.

That failure was momentous; it retarded Catholic spiritual development for centuries and seriously contributed to the Protestant-Catholic split. If we do not want a comparable spiritual tragedy in our own time, we will redouble our efforts to create a truly meaningful liturgy.

—COMMONWEAL, May 23, 1969

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PASSION AND COMPASSION

THE SCREEN

Since racing movies, especially auto racing, are among my most unfavorite films, I approached "Winning" somewhat reluctantly. But my misgivings gradually disappeared and I found myself absorbed in this well-made picture—not only because photographer Richard Moore's shots of the races and the race-track atmosphere in Technicolor on large-screen Panavision are so exceptionally good, but mainly because the film is actually about people. And I like people better than cars. The people in "Winning" aren't exactly likable, but thanks to Howard Rodman's well-written script and James Goldstone's first-rate direction of a good cast, they are portrayed as people—with human faults and virtues and compromises. One isn't necessarily won to them at first, and they might never become your friends, but you do understand them and their problems, and you find them interesting to follow in a two-hour movie.

The two main leads are by no means kids in spite of their behavior at the film's beginning when we see Paul Newman, somewhat drunk after a race in this small town, dropping his empty beer can into a mail box, then picking up Joanne Woodward, a clerk in a rent-a-car agency. She's a divorcee with a teenage son, and she's man-hungry. So Paul and Joanne go off for a week's fling—which leads to their marriage. It is when the son, a gangling youth played by Richard Thomas with great appeal, comes on the scene that the picture takes on real warmth. The scenes between this boy, who adores his new father, and Paul, who wants to make sure the boy is not left out of things, are extraordinarily moving. But many other scenes are equally good: those showing Paul's devotion to his car, Joanne's realization that his first loves are his car and the track, their strange conversations (mostly by telephone) during which Paul is so inarticulate, then that dreadful day when Paul returns to the motel after neglecting Joanne—to find her in bed with his best friend (Robert Wagner), his anger and hurt, their shame, and later the boy's heartbreak when he discovers his mother and stepfather have separated.

Most of this is told in settings of motels, race tracks, and garages. And it all leads up, as might be expected, to the big day of the Indianapolis 500, which is expertly shown in a medley of documentary shots, close-ups of drivers (real and fictional) and spectators (real and fictional) until the race-track background is caught to perfection. But what you'll remember most from "Winning" is the relationships of its people. The performances are good throughout, although the Robert Wagner role, through no fault of his, is not too well established. But

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I have never seen an adultery situation and its aftermath better portrayed in a movie. And the film ends as it should and must. But all of "Winning", a movie with extraordinary compassion, is a winner.

Two things are surprising about Claude Lelouch's "Love Life Death." It is entirely different from his well-liked, sentimental "A Man and a Woman." And while it is, during the course of the film, entirely without compassion, it has one of the most compassionate finales ever made in a picture. If it weren't so well-made as a movie, "Love Life Death" could be called a tract, a lecture against capital punishment. But director Lelouch knows what he is doing. He wrote the screenplay with Pierre Uytterhoeven, and he uses a directorial style that grabs our attention right at the beginning of the film and holds it to the brutal and emotionally charged finale at the guillotine.

The picture jumps back and forth in time, starting with the police trailing François Toledo to a motel where he has rented a room for the afternoon with his mistress, a young woman who works in the same automobile factory as he does. Eventually the story begins to piece together when he is arrested with his girl in a cheap Paris hotel and he is accused of murdering three prostitutes. Interspersed with these early police-pursuit scenes are other equally interesting scenes of Toledo at home with his attractive wife and six-year-old daughter, the only person for whom he seems to have any real affection.

The trial scene is fascinating as we see the man, his mistress, his wife, and various witnesses talk; but we do not hear their voices and there are no sub-titles as there are during the other scenes. However later, after the man is found guilty and condemned to death and he sits in his solitary well-guarded death cell, he recalls some of the trial, and those scenes are re-played so we can hear the people whose words are translated for us in sub-titles. At times during the course of this absorbing French movie, I was reminded of "The Boston Strangler." "Love Life Death" is also based on fact, but it is a much better made movie. It is well acted, mostly by an unfamiliar cast led by Amidou as Toledo, Janine Magnan as his wife, and pretty Caroline Cellier as his mistress. While the subject matter is sensational, the film itself is not. And while no one can like or approve of Toledo, one is greatly moved as one watches his last days in the death cell and the march to the guillotine. Lelouch makes his anti-capital punishment points well and provokes us into agreeing with him.

PHILIP T. HARTUNG

BOOKS

The task at hand: the winning of approximate values

Theology for Radical Politics

MICHAEL NOVAK

Herder and Herder, $4.50, $1.75 paper

STEVE MAX

To separate theology from politics in a work which sees them as interdependent is difficult and. in a way, artificial. Perhaps "man is separated from his environment and history was separated from nature by the first cycle of modern science, by the printing press and by German eschatology." Perhaps "modern science has entered a new cycle, the printing press has been replaced by electronic media, and now it is time to turn from German eschatology to Mediterranean nature." Perhaps "when man regains his roots in nature, the God immanent in nature courses through his consciousness again." These are questions for the theologians to debate.

The radical and socialist of today's New Left may find Michael Novak's work interesting from another viewpoint. Although *Theology for Radical Politics* has just been published, it is already history. Presented as a unified work, Novak's book is really a collection of essays which span the period from 1967 to the present and draw on New Left sources going further back in the early sixties. Thus, the movement with which the discussion starts was the movement in which Bob Moses went to Amite County, Mississippi to register black voters, and Stokely Carmichael could say that his goal was a world wherein "men will love one another." It was a time in which the majority of the New Left was concerned with developing a radical community in which identity could be found and values established. No wonder, then, that Novak starts with the premise that "the revolution required in the United States is a revolution in the quality of human life, a revolution in the quotient of human freedom realized by each of us. His recurring theme is that "the coming revolution will be moral or not at all."

Thus Novak falls into the same error that the New Left made in its early years, the belief that the problem was somehow with man himself, and that while the roots may lie in the political relations under which we live, man must change himself first and then change his environment, a classical utopian formulation. We are treated to a series of theoretical discussions on the proper development of identity, intimacy and community which are offered "in order to be of further use to the movement." The theories of

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knowledge developed here are far richer and more literate than any to be found in the writing from the New Left of the same period—if only the problem had been correctly identified in the first place.

Try though Novak does to devise one, there is no *political* program for the restructuring of man's identity which does not first require restructuring man's society. Thus when Novak comes to make concrete suggestions for the radical movement, his ideological utopianism leads directly to tactical utopianism. "The point of any realistic political program is to find the lever of power that will promote the liberation of a few more men every minute of every day . . ."

A further need, Novak adds, is to "create institutions in which there is room (for those who so wish) to breathe." To accomplish this he offers "two separate strategies:" the first is to adopt a vocation to "poverty community, freedom and service" in the manner of the Benedictines. The second strategy calls for living in the actual world, in the business world, in the military, in government, etc. Thus, "committed individuals work within whatever corner of the system is given to them in order to wrest from it the closest approximation they can to the values they most deeply cherish."

Notice that the task at hand is not the seizure of the system, its abolition and transformation into a new social order. Rather, we are to commit ourselves to the winning of approximate values.

If one reads the Novak book as history, the author may be excused for this analysis, for he reflects a set of creative currents. Talk (and actual establishment) of counter-communities, the seeking of radical vocations, discussions of siezing the levers of social change, contemplation of radical life styles within the interstices of the system—these were the currency of the New Left during its first four years.

As Novak was completing the series of lectures which compose the first half of the work, new currents were moving. The results of the war in Vietnam and the draft combined with the failure of past conceptions of radical activity, caused the movement to shift into the phase of resistance and disruption. The later essays in *A Theology for Radical Politics* follow a parallel development. This is the period of the urban rebellions of Black Power and Black Panthers, of sit-ins against recruiters from Dow and the military. The violence formerly reserved for civil rights workers in the deep South has been visited on northern students in their own dormitories. Police riots have occurred at mass demonstrations. The New Left starts to call itself revolutionary.

"The younger generation," Novak reports, "has discovered that under certain institutional frameworks, community is almost impossible. They have also discovered that the search for one's identity requires an examination of the institutions which have shaped that identity." In examining those institutions, Novak discusses institutionalized racism, American commitment to maintaining the status quo abroad and the "inequities of our economic arrangement." Like the New Left he concludes that ". . . once evolution is rejected the only world which remains at hand is 'revolution' . . ."

Unfortunately reaching this new step has not prevented Novak from repeating his first error in a different way. For while he no longer seeks immediate solutions in the search for identity and community, the problem is still the present nature of man. It is no longer the self, however, but the others. His chapter "Identifying the Enemy" tell us: "The enemy in America, then is the tyrannical and indifferent majority: the good people, the churchgoers, the typical Americans . . . So long as such a majority controls the destiny of America, it appears that the nation will remain racist and counter-revolutionary . . . The revolutionary problem is how to fight the moral sickness of the democratic majority." Henceforth demonstrations, disruptions, draft refusal and confrontation are seen in light of their therapeutic effect on the moral sickness of the majority.

It is true that this conception of the enemy was once widely held. A SNCC field secretary wrote that the enemy was anyone with a job, and a president of SDS once declaimed that the enemy was the churches, the civil rights organizations and the labor unions. Today it is quite clear to the New Left that the majority does not control the destiny of America, that the majority is in fact quite powerless. 1% of the population own over half of the nation's wealth including 70% of the corporate stock. That so great a concentration of economic power in so few hands leads directly to a corresponding concentration of political power seems to quite escape Novak. He is left standing on his head next to Hegel, for the enemy is not the democratic majority but the tiny powerful corporate elite.

This realization has convinced much of the New Left that the solutions to the problems of our country lie in the direction of socialism. The fight is no longer against some vague moral sickness but against the power and wealth of the ruling elite. The New Left today stands for the redistribution of wealth and power, to replace the rule of the elite with that of the democratic majority. The most fundamental structural criticism that Novak can muster, however, is that the system of representative government "does not go far enough and that is what makes it function as if it were sick."

It must be admitted that at this stage of its development the New Left is not much closer to working out the strategy and tactics of the fight for socialism than Novak is to finding to the elixir that cures moral illness. But for the New Left, at least, the direction is clear.

It is not that Novak isn't sympathetic to the idea of revolution; moral illness aside he supports the New Left here. One suspects that he would also favor a socialist solution although it is never mentioned. He notes however that we now live under a system of "socialist-capitalism," a unique historical conception which is elucidated no further.

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Apart from his utopianism, Novak's main problem is that he can see no strategic alternative beyond the revolutionary rhetoric of the New Left. When they propose taking up arms against the state, he counsels that the army and police are so powerful that "no conceivable challenge could be raised against them." This is, of course true at present, but having said so, he is stymied.

Since neither Novak nor the New Left have a program of interim demands and structural reforms which weaken the power of the ruling elite and at the same time build the strength of the popular forces, both reach an impasse. The New Left turns to adventurism while Novak takes to theology. It is within this context that a wide range of theological questions are examined, and those who can participate in such discussions must evaluate this one.

The epilogue is the most recent essay in the book. The time is the present. In Chicago, indictments are being served upon the leaders of last summer's demonstrations, Nixon sits in Washington and the National Guard is on the campuses of the University of Wisconsin and Duke. The war continues and the desperation of the Johnson administration begins to reassert itself.

Along with the New Left Novak now discovers that lower-middle (working) class. "One main task of ours is to overcome class prejudice, to come to sympathetic understanding with the lower middle class, with firemen, gas station attendants, meter men. It can not be that such men are inhuman; and in proportion as they are men of flesh with affections and terrors, loneliness and hopes, they are our teachers." Yesterday's "main enemy" then, is today's teacher. How quickly times change. One would think that this discovery would open a new world of political possibilities for Novak, but he focuses instead on the many real shortcomings and disarray of the New Left.

"Many are not fully alive except when intoxicated by the sense of fragile danger. They love to confront the forces of law and order not for strategic gain but in order to reply with too keen a fidelity to the all-too-American scenes of 'High Noon' . . ." "Moreover there is a moral pretension and class snobbery in the purity which many of the young try to maintain." The young may be a significant interest group, he writes, "But it is a mistake to think of them as bearers of God's truth of moral wisdom, as the darlings of nature, history, or manifest destiny." "We cannot expect the New Left to maintain its early goals and fervor." Such is the price paid for past illusions. This criticism needs to be made, but since the New Left is the only political motive force Novak understands, he no longer knows where to look for the carrier of the gospel of social change.

Seeing the magnitude of the problem but not the agency or direction of change confounds Novak quite utterly as he attempts finally to synthesize his religious and political views:

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reason to take heart. A new mysticism becomes one day a new politics. Later a new mysticism will be required. Politics and mysticism, mysticism and politics."

While such words may comfort the mystics, for the political activist they represent a retreat to the erroneous conception with which Novak started: the problem is within man's mind. Man must be redeemed.

"The revolution cannot be exclusive. Nor can it be victorious. We are not obliged to succeed but to labor." Logically then he closes with the words, "The revolution is in the human spirit or not at all." Once again the lesson of the history of the radical movement has been borne out. Utopianism can only lead to defeatism. For indeed we are obliged to succeed.

Black Music

LEROI JONES

Apollo Editions (Wm. Morrow), $1.95 paper

H. STAFFORD BRYANT, JR.

To a certain sort of enthusiast, jazz is in desperate trouble. He would like to think his music is still king of the pop arts, or of the performing pop arts anyway—the real existential gazoogimop that it used to be for Jack Kerouac and John Clellon Holmes. Why then is so much fuss being made over the cats with the long hair and spooky clothes? Why the endless parade of singers who phrase it like Elvis? Why all the twanging guitars? Why does Richard Poirier drool so over the Beatles in *Partisan Review* and why doesn't he celebrate Ornette Coleman instead? In short, this sort of jazz enthusiast finds the folk rock groups as certain an affront to the true and the good and the beautiful as an earlier generation found Sammey Kaye and Guy Lombardo.

There is more trouble for the jazz lover: If he is white, he is not sure he is welcome these days in the clubs that promote black talent; if he is a white *performer* he is very sure he is not always welcome. And then still another problem: Is jazz still jazz? He may well think Coltrane was much better (or at least a little more accessible) when he was still with Miles Davis than he was in the months before he died last year. Or that McCoy Tyner was *really* swinging when *he* was with Coltrane. Or that much of the time Ornette is just too much. The Bird Parker revolution took but has Ornette's? Naturally, our fan feels some concern over this persistent lag in his tastes; NOW has somehow got by him. A. B. Spellman, the critic, may well ponder "who are these ofays who have appointed themselves guardians of last year's blues?" There are a few of them about.

All these issues come sharply into focus in *Black Music,* a collection of the jazz writings of LeRoi Jones, who here picks up what is perhaps the least known of the several hats he wears. Jones is at once the most intellectual and the most emotionally artistic of our jazz writers. He is uncompromisingly for the spearhead men. In his oddly varied prose, which is here conventionally literate and there sparse and paradigmatic as if it might be the translation of some Roman philosopher, Jones is the most persuasive spokesman about for the *new* black music. His NOW people include Coleman and Coltrane, of course, and then Sun-Ra, Archie Shepp, Albert Ayler, Cecil Taylor, Don Cherry—all of whom (but especially Coleman) have wrenched jazz away from the comfortable, structured, traditional bluesy moorings of the fifties into what at times seems an absolutely free form.

Early in his book, Jones argues that white critics and observers have missed something very crucial to jazz. "Negro music," he writes, "is essentially the expression of an attitude, or a collection of attitudes about the world and only secondarily an attitude about the way music is made." And he feels this failure has produced "the reverse patronization that is known as Crow Jim." It is in this connection that Jones declares that the musicology of jazz is of limited value, a point the reviewer feels is arguable. Surely jazz has a musicology—or better yet a form and analysis—that counts for something. Any issue of *Down Beat* has intelligent analysis of style, form, execution and history by performers, arrangers and the more technically informed critics. Jazzmen have their standards of musicianship just as other musicians do, and they can be rigorous. And Jones makes shrewd technical judgments all through his book. Yet you can hardly fault his point that "Coltrane's cries are not 'musical,' but they *are* music and quite moving music. Ornette Coleman's screams and rants are only musical once one understands the music his emotional attitude seeks to create."

But *Black Music* is not all idea and argument, and nothing can be more vivid or more compellingly impressionistic than Jones' description of his jazzmen and their performances. Only the Kerouac of *On The Road* has been so successful in capturing the peculiar gin and pot élan of jazz. His accounts of John Coltrane's group at Birdland, of Don Cherry, of Cecil Taylor and his compositions, of such gifted but still obscure musicians as Bobby Bradford and Sonny Murray—are to be read and reread.

With his sharply drawn, messianic view of jazz and what it should be, Jones shows considerable pique here and there throughout the book, in most cases understandably. He can put it hilariously. Of course he is right that there have been, and still are, whites who have unreasonably exploited black music. And there have been blacks who have copped out to corn or tepidity, or who have in his words "gone on over to Marboro Country, where all dee big dough is." As we have seen, some jazz followers have trouble keeping up with the new music. Jones calls them the "melancholy baby crowd."

Jazz once seemed the most promising field of all for advances in racial integration. With *Black Music,* it now seems a most promising field for an enclave of black power. Is it a chimera that some of the racially mixed groups of the day—say the Thad Jones-Mel Lewis Big Band, Joe Farrell with Elvin Jones, the longterm collaboration of Miles Davis with Gil Evans, the arranger—seem such a sure artistic and

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sociological success? My reading of Jones is that he sees the art of jazz as exclusively out there with the shock troops. And that the shock troops—the men who have the needed techniques, attitudes, backgrounds and spiritual qualities—are black *tout court*. A thought exciting and chilling both.

Total Commitment: Blondel's L'Action

JAMES M. SOMERVILLE

Corpus, $9.50

THOMAS BERRY

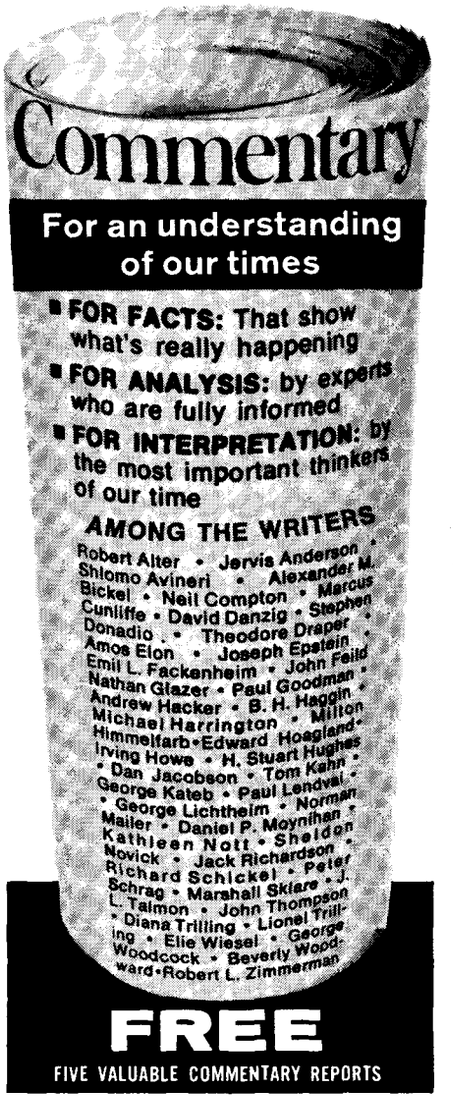
Maurice Blondel (1861-1949) has finally achieved recognition in America through this comprehensive study by James Somerville, a philosopher of Fordham University who selected Blondel as the central focus of his study and teaching some fifteen years ago. An earlier recognition of Blondel during the first half of this century would have considerably enriched American thought. It might well have eased the disastrous tension between the thought of American Pragmatists such as Dewey and that of American Catholic thinkers who were dominated by a brand of Thomistic thought that showed itself incapable of responding intelligently to man's modern experience. It might also have revealed to American thinkers fascinated with the experiential order the larger dimensions of reality indicated by man's experience of the phenomenal world.

Because Blondel's thought moved so powerfully through the entire range of reality toward a transcendent experience, it evokes fascination in some and a turning away by others. Yet it should be recognized by all that Blondel, no less than Dewey, wished to avoid a philosophy of words and propositions. He wished his work to emerge from an involvement with the real and to provide man with a way of responding intelligently and effectively to the life process itself. This is why he insisted that his work be entitled, not "The Idea of Action" but "Action." This itself was a shock to the academic world of France in his day.

In presenting Blondel, the author has chosen to do a detailed study of the only great synthesis that Blondel gave of his work and has followed it through chapter by chapter. This is a great aid to the reader of Blondel because of the involved nature of Blondel's own presentation. This study is considered by its author as an introductory guide to his translation of the original work which he plans to publish later.

The fourth and fifth parts of this study, its most crucial parts, are valuable reading for anyone interested in the problem of how man attains final significance for his existence and his activity. In the chapter "The Bond of Action and Knowledge in Being," we come to the central question of subjective experience and the objectively real, also to the questions of man as individual in his relation to other man, to God the unique cause, and to the cosmic order itself. Most impressive are the passages that relate to man's total commitment to the real as the condition for all valid metaphysics.

In linking the subjective experience with objective existence man must make a "metaphysical option." This requires "a measure of faith and a kind of basic trust in the rationality of human experience and existence." After an intensive and even exhaustive analysis of the exigences of human life and activity in the world, man comes to a culminating point which requires that he make a metaphysical affirmation of the whole order of being and value. A metaphysician must be someone who responds in grand fashion to the whole splendid realm of things. To deal with the reality of things merely in an abstract, speculative way is to be nothing and say nothing. "For Blondel there can be no such thing as a problem of being which does not involve the knowing subject and his personal destiny, and any attempt to approach the problem of metaphysics without the need for an option that engages our freedom and total adherence is doomed to failure." The value of this commitment is the capacity for action, for action alone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"is the bond that converts knowing into being." This leads to that highest form of action that we designate as love. For Blondel "We do not know anything if we do not love," for "being is love."

All of this makes it quite clear that Blondel is a "salvation" philosopher, as are all the other philosophers whose insights survive the centuries by enabling man to respond wisely and to develop humanly in the life process which in and through him attains its fulfillment. This is true from Plato and Plotinus to Spinoza and Hegel. The significant achievement of this book is that it has provided both the technical analysis and the larger perspective in which the whole Blondel can be seen.

We might hope that Professor Somerville is correct when he says of Blondel's large, synthetic vision: "'It could well be that it may speak more eloquently to the new generation which, in a few years, may have grown tired of response to values, I-Thou confrontations and detached insights without benefit of organic unity." Whether this takes place or not, Blondel's thought will surely assert itself as a masterful synthesis in the historical perspective of those American philosophers who are concerned with an adequate philosophy of man that is founded in man's own experience of himself and which seeks merely to follow to their ultimate conclusions the evidence that man discovers in his own thoughts, life and action.

Joyce Cary: A Biography

MALCOLM FOSTER

Houghton Mifflin, $10

JEFFREY MEYERS

Like Conrad, Cary became a writer relatively late in life and had a long and active career before publishing his first novel at the age of forty-four. His family were Protestant landlords in Ireland, and he was born in Londonderry in 1888. He went to Clifton school, studied painting in Paris and Edinburgh, and took a Fourth in law at Trinity College, Oxford. Cary "had a certain romantic enthusiasm for the cause of the Montenegrins, and was young and eager for any sort of adventure," so he worked for the British Red Cross during the Balkan War of 1912-13.

His reasons for going to Northern Nigeria at the end of 1913 had the same mixture of adventurousness and idealism, for he wanted to see a primitive country and was attracted to the constructive political work. Cary was a magistrate, road builder and head of state, and writes, "As an acting district officer, in almost the humblest rank of the service, I was in charge of two Moslem Emirates, stretching over a region bigger than Wales. My orders were to do what I thought necessary and take the consequences if I did wrong." This district was remote and lonely, and Cary was reduced, he says, "to making faces at myself in my lamp-shade, which acts as a distorting mirror, for a little human companionship and amusement."

Cary fought against the Germans in the Cameroons, and in 1915 was wounded at the hill fortress of Mora Mountain: "I got a bullet that scraped my mastoid, and of course I felt as if my brains were blown to pieces, and it knocked me right out." He returned to political service after his campaign, and was district officer in Borgu until 1920 when he resigned from the service to become a professional writer though he did not publish his first book until 1932. He lived and wrote in Oxford for the rest of his life, which was extremely productive and much less eventful. He did not achieve success and fame until *The Horse's Mouth* (1944), which was rejected by seventeen American publishers. He died bravely of a horrible paralytic disease in 1957.

It is quite possible to overlook the excitement of Cary's early life when reading Malcolm Foster's plodding biography, which is too detailed and dull for the general reader, too obvious and obtuse for the specialist. Though Mr. Foster has rendered a complete and accurate account of the facts, his book suffers from painful repetition, lack of selectivity and proportion, glutinous style and an emphasis on the obvious. Anyone interested in Cary's life would do better to read *Castle Corner* for the family background, *A House of Children* for the boyhood years, *Memoirs of the Bobotes* for the Balkan experience and Molly Mahood's *Joyce Cary's Africa* for the colonial period.

Foster's description of the African years is disappointing. There is very little historical and political background (this is true of the entire book), almost nothing about the recruitment and training for the colonial service, and there is a rather naive idealization of British colonial rule. More significantly, there is no sense of the quality of daily life, and no clear statement about the relation of Cary's African experience to his African novels. Mr. Foster mentions the many uncompleted novels that Cary worked on in Nigeria, but with the exception of "Cock Jarvis" he does not reveal their contents. Cary had a fertile imagination and an almost Dickensian ability to create vivid characters, but his lack of aesthetic control and lack of form often forced him to abandon his novels. Cary's numerous unpublished letters to his wife provide the main interest of the African chapters.

Perhaps the primary weakness of the book is the superficiality of the literary criticism, which is mainly an exposition of the plot and general theme of the novels and fails to do justice to the moral complexity of Cary's fiction. The central idea in Cary's work is "the everlasting conflict between authority and freedom," and in the Nigerian novels he questions and revaluates civilization and its effect on traditional life and considers the disintegration of African cul-

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REVIEWERS

STEVE MAX was a founding member of S.D.S. and a member of Senator Eugene McCarthy's staff during the campaign.

H. STAFFORD BRYANT, Jr., works in the college department of a New York publishing house and is a part-time jazz drummer.

THOMAS BERRY is an associate professor of theology at Fordham University.

JEFFRY MEYERS teaches English at Tufts University in Massachusetts.

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ture after the impact of European colonialism. Everyone who knew Cary found him a lively, kind and generous man, and his personality is clearly reflected in his great theme: "I am influenced by the solitude of men's minds, but equally by the unity of their fundamental character and feelings, their sympathies which bring them together."

CORRESPONDENCE

(Continued from page 355)

development assistance have been making sound progress. In 1962-68, their yearly GNP growth averaged about 5 percent, their annual per capita growth about 2 percent, and their industrial expansion 8 to 9 percent a year. With new high-yield seeds and A.I.D.-financed imports of fertilizers. India and Pakistan have achieved record grain harvests in the past two years, and sharply reduced the danger of recurring food shortages. With A.I.D. support, Korea has achieved spectacular growth—8.5 percent a year over 1961-67—and is within reach of self-sustaining development, as is Turkey. Taiwan, Greece and Iran have "graduated" from the aid program, and sustained high growth rates since. The U.S. has supported Brazil and Colombia in major stabilization programs and helped those countries move back towards satisfactory development. Thus while much remains to be done, much has been accomplished.

Mr. Weaver asserts that U.S. aid favors countries which are militantly anti-Communist or located close to Communist countries. This criticism misses the point in two respects. First, where our aid has included specific U.S. security interests, as in Korea, Taiwan, Greece, Turkey, and Iran, it has also been used successfully to accelerate development and improve living standards, which are independently valid goals. Second, in recent years we have maintained large aid programs in India, Pakistan, Indonesia, Brazil, Chile and Colombia, among others, which do not fit Mr. Weaver's description at all.

Finally, Mr. Weaver questions the relationship of U.S. trade and aid policies. The aid program contributes to economic development which will eventually enable developing countries to increase their trade, and thus improve both their living standards and ours. Mr. Weaver opposes the argument that developing the rest of the world encourages trade which the U.S. needs, on the ground that application of Keynesian economics will assure full employment at home without trade. But he ignores the fundamental principle of trade: by exporting goods we are comparatively well equipped to produce and importing those we are comparatively ill equipped to produce, both the U.S. and our trading partners are better off —with full employment either way. Successful development does expand such mutually beneficial trade. U.S. commercial exports to countries which have graduated to self-sustaining development grew by 100 percent from 1960 to 1966, while our exports to other less developed countries grew by about 42 percent and those to all developed countries rose by only 33 percent. Expanding freer trade will continue to benefit both the developing countries and the U.S.

PAUL G. CLARK
Assistant Administrator for
Program and Policy
Department of State

Reply

I am delighted that Mr. Clark has reminded us of President Kennedy's statement on foreign aid. I don't know what it adds to the discussion of what foreign aid has accomplished but it is nice rhetoric.

Do the people of the world agree with Mr. Clark that the most pressing need of both the developed and the developing countries is peace? People can starve to death in a world at peace.

Mr. Clark's use of statistics on the growth of AID-assisted countries is interesting. If the assisted countries grew, then Mr. Clark argues that aid was responsible. This is *post hoc ergo propter hoc* reasoning. What about those countries which received aid and didn't develop? Was aid responsible there, too?

No one argues that the U.S. would be as rich as we are today without foreign trade. Specialization of labor obviously increases productivity. Nevertheless, the U.S. could be incredibly rich without foreign trade. Does anyone believe that our $850 billion GNP would be reduced by as much as half if we gave up our $50 billion worth of imports? And yet with half the per capita income we have today, we would still be a very rich country. Thus the argument stands that the U.S. does not need the poor countries to develop in order to trade with them. If we really did need their trade, one would have to question the stupidity of our Congress for limiting that trade in so many effective ways.

JAMES H. WEAVER
The American University

Early Christianity

Washington, D.C.

To the Editors: I make reference to your editorial "Little and Late" [May 2]. There occurred to me as I read the first sentence of its second paragraph ("Many concerned with Christian renewal have long argued for a return to a gospel-like simplicity in ecclesiastical life.") Cardinal Newman's comment that whatever early Christianity was it certainly wasn't Protestantism. To the Cardinal's observation I might add that it wasn't medieval Italian either.

HOWARD B. SLAVIN

"ON MONDAY, a reporter asks a knowing New Yorker why Norman Mailer's running, and gets the answer that he wants material for a new book. On Tuesday, Mailer hotly denies he has any intention of writing a book about his campaign. On Wednesday, a publisher reports casually at lunch that a week earlier Mailer's agent called, asking for a bid on Mailer's mayoralty book. Mailer's campaign slogan is NO MORE BULL . . ."

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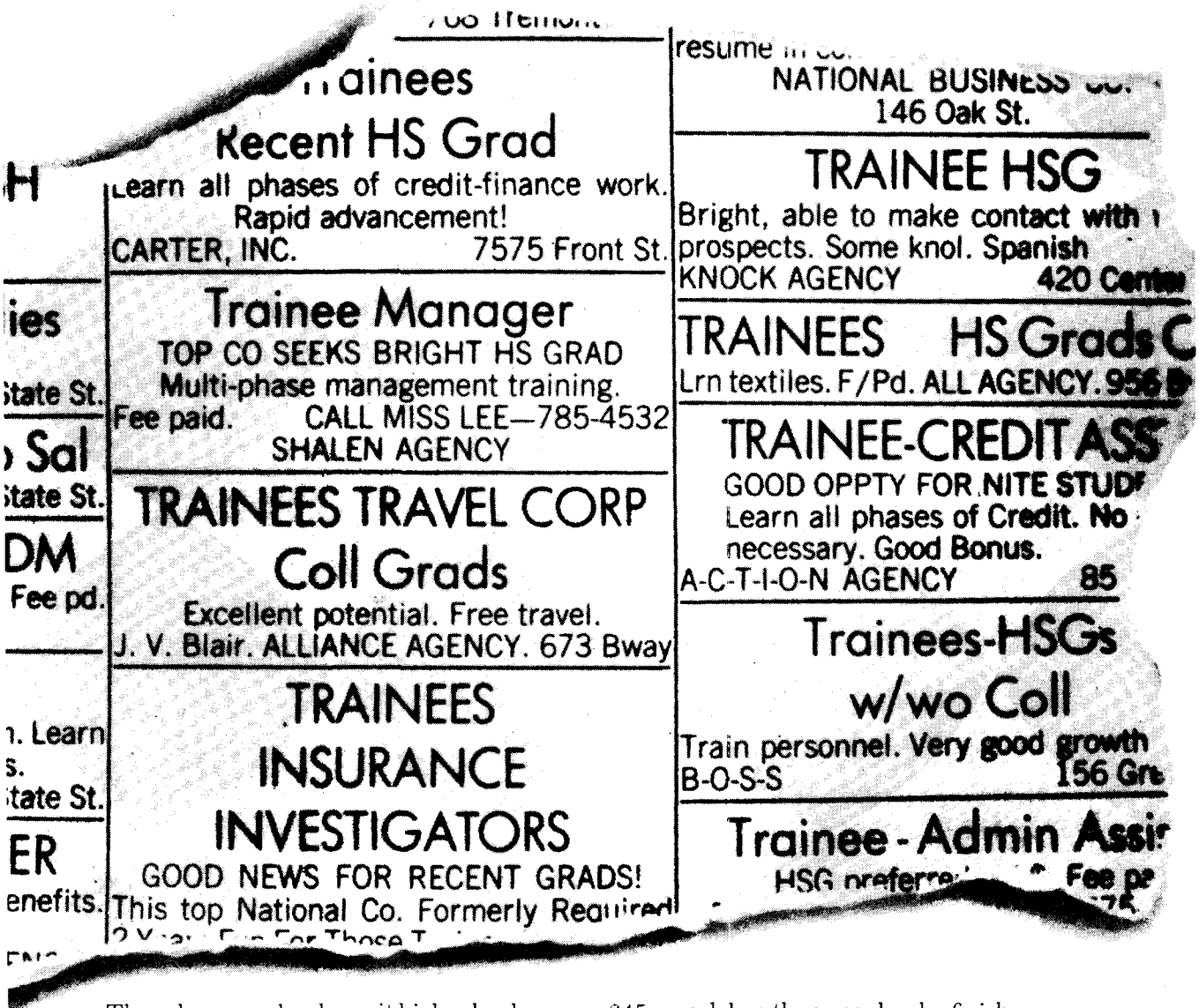

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